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THE EARLY WELSH QUAKERS AND THEIR EMIGRATION TO PENNSYLVANIA.<sup>1</sup>

BY DR. JAMES J. LEVICK.

If in the Divine economy chance is an unknown factor, it must have been something more than a mere human impulse which, in the year 1653, led one Morgan Floyd, a priest of Wrexham, to send two of his congregation to the north of England "to trie the Quakers" and to bring back an account of them. What came of this mission is thus told by George Fox: "When these triers came down among us the power of the Lord overcame them and they were both of them convinced of the truth. So they stayed some time with us and then returned into Wales, where afterwards one of them departed from his convincement, but the other, whose name was John ap John, abode in the truth, and received a gift in the ministry to which he continued faithful."<sup>2</sup> From this mission of Morgan Floyd and this conversion of John ap John may be traced a chain of events with which are closely

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 13, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> "A Journal or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, and Christian Experiences of George Fox." London, 1694, p. 123.

linked the settlement of Eastern Pennsylvania, the conservative character of her people, and a history almost unique in its character. Who was this Morgan Floyd, priest of Wrexham, and who this John ap John, the apostle of Quakerism in Wales, it is one of the objects of this paper to consider. Rightly to understand this subject we must examine the character of the Welsh people, their early history and their national peculiarities. Whatever opinions may exist concerning original sin and the natural depravity of man, there can be no doubt that for generations the Welsh people have been congenitally disposed to piety. Nor can this fact excite surprise. Moral attributes of character may be the subject of inheritance as well as physical traits, and the ancient Britons were a religious people in their earliest history. Long before the Roman invasion they had in their Druids and bards the teachers of a religion which, though not free from error, had as its basis great truths analogous to those of the Christian religion. The fundamental objects and principles of this Druidical system were the search after truth and a rigid adherence to justice and peace. The bards themselves never bore arms, they recognized one Supreme Being, and their religion called for a severe and inflexible morality; so much so, indeed, that an early writer has said that "it comprehended all the leading principles that tend to spread liberty, peace, and happiness among mankind, and was no more inimical to Christianity than the religion of Noah, Job, or Abraham."<sup>1</sup>

Hence the Britons were prompt, even so early as the first century of our era, to accept the Christian religion, which they retained in a simple Druidical form until the fifth century, when the Roman Catholic form of Christianity was introduced among the Welsh people.

Very early in the Church history of Wales we find differences of opinion between the Britons and the Romans. To think for himself in matters religious and political is, in his opinion, the Welshman's birthright, and the germ of dis-

<sup>1</sup> "The Welsh Non-Conformist Memorial," by the Rev. William Richards, LL.D. London, 1820.

sent from the Established Church, whether that of the Roman Catholic hierarchy or the Anglican Church, has never died out in Wales.

It showed itself early, most conspicuously in the person of John Penry, a man born in Brecknockshire, educated both at Oxford and Cambridge, who suffered death for conscience' sake three centuries ago,—May 29, 1593.

The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church, and a long line of Non-Conformist ministers came up, as it were, from Penry's ashes.

One Wroth, rector of Llanfaches, in Merionethshire, an Oxford graduate, formed a dissenters' church so early as 1639. Other Oxford graduates followed in his footsteps, prominent among whom were William Erbury and Walter Craddock, vicar and curate of St. Mary's, Cardiff. Driven from their charge by the Bishop of Llandaff and by Archbishop Laud, they went about the country as itinerant preachers. At the breaking out of the civil war, Craddock and his adherents were driven out of Wales by the violence of the cavalier and high-church party, but returned there after the close of the war and went vigorously to work in the cause of Christ. Their preaching was successful. Walter Craddock lived for some time at Wrexham. Here Morgan Lloyd, as we shall now call him, was at this time at school. Here he heard the preaching of Walter Craddock, the effect of which influenced his whole subsequent life. Morgan Lloyd was of good family, and was born in Merionethshire on an estate long belonging to his family, called Cynfal, or Cymfael. His mother appears to have been a religious, thoughtful woman inclined to Puritanism. Thus trained, we cannot wonder that the fervent preaching of Walter Craddock affected her boy. During the civil war Morgan Lloyd was in Cromwell's army, probably as chaplain. Wherever he went he preached. So, says Palmer,<sup>1</sup> "people in authority as well in England as in Wales came to be aware of his power and his promise." Up to the time of

<sup>1</sup> "A History of the Older Non-Conformists of Wrexham and its Neighborhood," by Alfred Neobald Palmer, F.C.S., etc. Wrexham, 1888.

parliamentary government the officiating clergy of the Established Church in Wales, it is said, were generally unfit for their stations; many of them were extremely ignorant; not understanding the Welsh language, they rarely preached; of some, indeed, it is said they were scandalous livers. On February 22, 1649-50, an act was passed for the better propagating of the gospel in Wales and for ejecting scandalous ministers and school-masters. Among those appointed as "triers" and to supply ministers as they should adjudge best for the advancement of the gospel were Walter Craddock, Vavasor Powell, and Morgan Lloyd.

Finding it difficult to secure suitable men among these English (but non-Welsh-speaking) ordained clergymen, they had recourse to the encouragement, promotion, and appointment of lay preachers who were intelligent, pious men from the different churches or who had good gifts for public speaking, thus preparing, though unconsciously, the way for a religious body who, respecting the ministry, have ever held, in the words of a Celtic poet, that

"There is a consecration not of man,  
Nor given by laid-on hands, nor acted rite."

Hence arose in Wales those husbandmen and artisans often mentioned as among the Welsh ministers. This, it will be remembered, was so early as 1650, some years before George Fox had visited Wales. When the authority of Cromwell was established, Morgan Lloyd was placed in charge of the great parish church of Wrexham,<sup>1</sup> of which he remained the vicar for many years. Later in life, either voluntarily or because his religious views did not fully accord with those of his parishioners, there is reason to believe he gave up his vicarage and became the minister of the Congregational Church of Wrexham. Morgan Lloyd was not only a great preacher, but he was also an author and a poet. His book best known is entitled "The Three Birds, a Mystery for

<sup>1</sup> This parish church of Wrexham has for Americans an especial interest, as here repose the remains of Elihu Yale, the founder of Yale College.

some to understand and others to deride, being a Discourse between the Eagle, the Dove, and the Raven." In the conversation which ensues between the three birds, the dove stands for God's people (*i.e.*, the Puritan portion of them), the raven for the godless, while the eagle, who directs the conversation, is Oliver Cromwell. The dove is really the exponent of Morgan Lloyd's own religious views.<sup>1</sup> There is much in his words which reminds us of George Fox's "great exercise" in the vale of Beavor, and a remarkable similarity may be noticed between the views of Morgan Lloyd and those of the early Friends; so much so, indeed, that Palmer writes, "Lloyd's doctrine of quietism was so closely allied to the doctrine of the indwelling spirit as preached by George Fox, that he naturally took an interest in the latter, befriending his friends and remonstrating with Richard Baxter for denouncing the Quakers." He died June 3, 1659, aged forty years, and was buried in what for many years has been known as the Dissenters' Burying-Ground of Wrexham. Last summer I visited this graveyard. The sidewalk of the street in Wrexham has recently been widened, and as I trod it my friend Palmer told me I was standing over the dust of Morgan Lloyd. Much as he was loved and honored by his congregation, he was bitterly hated by others, and it is on record that after the restoration of the monarchy a soldier sought out Morgan Lloyd's grave and in great rage and malice thrust down his sword into it as far as he could.

So much for the priest of Wrexham who sent two of his men to try the Quakers and bring back an account of them, both of whom became converts to the faith of Fox and his friends, one of whom received a part in the ministry, to which he remained faithful. If Morgan Lloyd was indirectly the cause, this man, John ap John, was the direct agent, under Providence, in bringing about the changes which resulted in the settlement so largely by Welsh emigrants of the Township of Merion and the vicinity of Phila-

<sup>1</sup> See "A History of the Older Non-Conformists of Wrexham and its Neighborhood," by Alfred Neobald Palmer, F.C.S., etc. Wrexham, 1888.

delphia. But of this man, the apostle of Quakerism in Wales, there has been a degree of ignorance which is surprising. So far as I could discover, when I began this investigation there had been nothing known of him in Pennsylvania other than what is noted in the journal of George Fox and of Richard Davies, of Cloddeau cochion. All knowledge of his later years seemed to be lost, and at a time when "testimonies" and memorials of deceased Friends were so general, no such record of this man appears. Did he fall away from his faith in his later years, as his companion had so early done, or did he join the followers of Fox who came to the New World? If so, how is it that we have no record of his home, and how is it that no man knows his sepulchre?

Impressed by this strange and anomalous ignorance, I devoted a considerable part of last summer to an investigation of the subject, which happily led to results of a gratifying character. For the success of these investigations I am largely indebted to Alfred Neobald Palmer, of Wrexham, North Wales, a gentleman well known in Wales and in Great Britain as an authority in archæological and historical matters, and whose histories of the parish church of Wrexham and of the early Non-Conformists of Wrexham, etc., are especially interesting.<sup>1</sup> Under his guidance I visited Plas Ifa, the home (as he assured me) of John ap John, who I learned, like Morgan Lloyd, belonged to a good Welsh family, —a yeoman living on his ancestral estate. Plas Ifa is near the vale of Llangollen, not far from Ruabon, into which parish it is quite probable that the estate extended. Though a yeoman, he was evidently an evangelical preacher. George Fox says of him in his Journal, that John ap John had once been a preacher in Beaumaris. It is probable he was one of the lay preachers selected by Morgan Lloyd and his asso-

<sup>1</sup> I wish also here to acknowledge the aid kindly given me, in my local investigations, by Evan Powell, Esq., of Llanidloes; by Robert Jones, late rector of the parish church at Bala; by Edward Griffith, Esq., J.P., of Dolgelly; by John E. Southall, Esq., of Newport, Monmouth; and by William Norris, Esq., of Coalbrookdale, England.

ciates, to the former of whom he had been known from his childhood.

The old house, Plas Ifa, is nearly gone and a new one has been built on the original site. The place has evidently been the home of a well-to-do country gentleman. In the garden were bits of carved timber taken from the old house, and in one room of the house one of the rafters showed more of this carved work, which my friend Palmer said was not of later date than the fifteenth century. At the lower end of the lawn in front of the house was formerly the Friends' burying-ground, but in digging the canal of Ellsmere, and later in constructing the railway between Chester and Dolgelly, this graveyard was obliterated. The view from Plas Ifa in John ap John's time must have been beautiful: it certainly is so now. Before it is the beautiful vale of Llangollen, the Berwyn mountains on one side, near by the dancing waters of the Dee, while between these are highly-cultivated fields of grass and grain with well-trimmed hedges intervening, making the whole look like one vast highly-cultivated garden. There was everything to tempt to rest and ease here; but as Fox has said of John ap John, the power of the Lord was upon him, and he had received a gift in the ministry, to which he remained faithful. And so from this peaceful home he went forth on his apostolic mission. First he went to his own personal friends and neighbors, the men of Wrexham, Ruabon, Corwen, Llangollen, Bala, and Dolgelly,—to your ancestors and to mine. They knew the integrity of the man, and the Power which had melted his heart, under his preaching, melted theirs. In the year 1657 Fox passed into Wales, beginning at Cardiff and Swansea, and going so far north as Beaumaris. In this journey he had as his companion John ap John, a companion in every way helpful to him,—helpful as speaking the Welsh language, to which, as they do now, so then, the Welsh people loyally adhered, helpful as a fearless servant of the same Divine Master.

At first they were kindly received. Justices of the peace, the high sheriff of the county, the mayor of Tenby, the

gentry of the county, all heard them, if not with entire approval, with at least some show of Christian courtesy. At Dolgelly, writes Fox, "many people accompanied us to the inn, rejoiced in the truth that had been declared to them, and as we went forth from the town they lifted up their hands and blessed the Lord for our coming." And so, from one end to the other of Wales, George Fox and John ap John travelled, as Fox writes, "sounding the day of the Lord, until very weary with travelling so hard up and down in Wales we came to a place within six miles of Wrexham, where we met with many Friends and had a glorious meeting." This place was doubtless Plas Ifa, and the meeting-house that which lately has been swept away in building the railway and canal of which I have already spoken. Everywhere in Wales the effects of this visit were seen. Wales was soon alive with Quakers. The whole country was indeed ripe for such a harvest. The independence of thought of which I have spoken as a trait of the Britons from the days of the Druids, the simplicity of religious truth, as taught by these early Britons, confirmed by Penry and his successors, the glimmerings of a truth now shining in full brightness,—all had prepared the mind of the Welsh people for just such teaching as was that of Fox and of John ap John in this memorable visit, and I repeat it, Wales was soon alive with Quakers. Montgomeryshire gave to this faith Charles and Thomas Lloyd, of Dolobran, and Richard Davies, of Cloddeau cochion. Pembroke gave Henry Lewis, Richard Hayes, Thomas Ellis. Dolgelly gave Rowland Ellis, Robert and Jane Owen. Bala and its vicinity, John ap Thomas, Cadwalader ap Thomas, Edward Jones, Hugh Roberts, John Roberts, Robert Vaughan, David ap John, William ap Edward, and others. Flintshire, Thomas Wynne. Glamorganshire, John Bevan and others. Of these men I shall have occasion to speak later.

What manner of men were these who thus so promptly accepted the faith preached by George Fox and John ap John? Happily, this question can be readily answered. Still in Wales, especially in North Wales, their homes remain,

retaining their old names though their former owners have long since passed away from them. Happily, too, by a law of their religious Society, certificates as to their character and standing were furnished the heads of every family removing to the New World. These "certificates" are individual or family biographies, and in these days when details of ancestry are so eagerly studied I know no reading so interesting, so instructive, so satisfactory as that which may be found in the minute-books of Radnor, Haverford, and Merion Meetings.

Like John ap John, those I have named, most of whom subsequently crossed the sea and founded the colony of Pennsylvania, were of good old Welsh families, yeomen, freeholders, well-educated men. Some of them were cadets of ancient houses; more than one had been at Oxford. With the history of Charles and Thomas Lloyd, the latter Penn's chosen governor, the members of this Historical Society are familiar. In an unbroken line their family history is traced to the sixth century or earlier.

Dolobran still remains, with its oaken stairs and wainscoted walls, to tell of the luxurious home in which these early Quakers had been reared.

The family of Henry Lewis, of Trewern, near Narberth, has for centuries held a good position in Pembrokeshire, and the last of the family in Wales, who has lately died, was widely known for his philanthropy.

John ap Thomas, gentleman, of Llaithgwm, of whom I have spoken before this Society on another occasion, and whose house may still be seen a few miles from Bala, and his brother, Cadwalader ap Thomas (the father of John Cadwalader), were seventeenth in descent from Marchweithian, of one of the princely tribes of North Wales and Lord of Isallet. Lleweni, the home of Marchweithian, who lived in the tenth century, is but a few miles from Denbigh, and is now the heritage of the Saulsbury family, who are also descendants of Marchweithian.

Robert Vaughan, whose name appears among these early Friends, bore a name yet honored in Wales, and his home,

Hendri Mawr, a mile or two beyond the town of Bala, still shows its owner to have been a man of wealth, if not of rank. A long and noble avenue of trees leads to the house, parts of which have been traced to the fifth century. Hendri Mawr is the Briton's name for the great summer home (or residence), and the name itself is one of great antiquity. The home of Hugh Roberts, another of those early converts to Quakerism, was Ciltalgarth, "the corner at the end of the hill." The old house is now gone, but a newer house on the old site commands one of the most beautiful views in Merionethshire. Near by Hendri Mawr, lying between it and Llaithgwm, was and still is Coed y Foel, the then home of Edward Foulke, who, though not so early a Friend, later became one, and who was the friend and associate of the men I have named, and who, as he has himself told us, was fourteenth in descent from Ririd Flaidd, Lord of Penllyn. Two miles from Bala is Rhyridog, the home in the fifth century of his ancestor Ririd Flaidd, a recumbent effigy of one of whose family may be found in the old church of Llanychlin.

Six miles beyond Bala is Dolgelly, where, as Fox has told us, he was so kindly received. Here at Dolscrau, a mile and a half from the town, lived Robert and Jane Owen, the former a justice of the peace and belonging to one of the most influential families in North Wales. He was fifth in descent from Baron Lewis Owen, whose parents came of the royal tribes of Wales. Baron Owen was himself Chancellor of North Wales, and after filling many public offices was cruelly murdered by a band of outlaws in the year 1555.<sup>1</sup> Jane, the wife of Robert Owen, was daughter of Robert Vaughan, of Hengwert and Nannau, one of the oldest families in North Wales. Near by, living at ease in his ancestral home, Bryn-Mawr, was Rowland Ellis (a yeoman descended from a prince of Powys), whose home has given us a name so familiar to us that we may pause for a moment to describe it. It was then, as it is now, a comfortable stone house; the floors are of stone, and it was built by Rees Lewis, grandfather of Rowland Ellis, A.D. 1617, as an inscription on

<sup>1</sup> See *The British Friend*, November 2, 1891.

one of the rafters tells. To the right of the house are the remains of an ancient garden which has seen better days. Its walls are gone, but there are traces of old paths, while ancient box- and venerable yew-trees tell of what has been. The view of the valley, the river running through it, and in the distance Cader Idris with its adjacent range of hills, and on the opposite side another long range of hills, the whole looking not unlike some of the prettiest parts of Scotland, all make Bryn-Mawr well worthy of a visit.

These were all men of good social standing in the communities in which they lived, and were among the first to accept the faith preached by George Fox and John ap John.

A well-known statesman, ex-Secretary Bayard, has lately said it was well for the development of our nation that its founders belonged rather to the three hundred of Leonidas than to the four hundred of McAllister. This is doubtless true; Spartan courage and fearless patriotism are important factors in the founding of a new and a permanent government; but I have yet to learn that there is any incompatibility between such courage and patriotism and that culture, education, systematic habits of thought which generations of good social life develop. And I may go so far as to say that I believe much of the quiet, dignified, conservative character of Philadelphia is due to the good old blood of these her first Welsh settlers.

What was this faith thus preached by Fox and John ap John which took such early and deep root in the hearts of these Welsh people?

I enter on this part of my essay with, I trust, a just appreciation of the gravity, shall I not say the responsibility of the subject? For myself I am satisfied with the faith held by Fox, as all my fathers were; but I have long since learned that in things spiritual, as in things temporal, the food which is most grateful and, as I think, most helpful to me may not be equally so to my fellows; that from differences of constitution, temperament, education, taste, even the way of serving the same food may be attractive to one and repellent to another. Happily, He to whom we owe our daily

bread has so ordained it that the ultimate constituents of our food are much the same, however varied it may be in its externals, and that as it is eaten with gladness and singleness of heart it may alike promote the growth, health, and strength of the individual. I say this because it would grieve me greatly if in what follows I should seem to arrogate to myself the position of teacher when I wish to act simply as a truthful historian.

George Fox tersely declares his faith in these words: "I saw that Christ died for all men and was a propitiation for all men and had enlightened all men and women by his Divine and saving Light." These are two inseparable halves of one great proposition, and George Fox did not separate them. The first, that Christ died for all men and was a propitiation for all men, accorded with the general sentiment of the English Church. Much as men then and since have endeavored to show that Fox preached the second half of this proposition to the exclusion or the belittling of the first, such a charge is utterly disproved by his own words spoken again and again before his accusers and left on record in his autobiography. I do not propose to offer any words of my own in support of this statement, but shall content myself with quoting George Fox's own declaration of faith, prepared by himself and two of his friends, printed and issued under his immediate supervision at Barbadoes in the year 1671; and that there may be no doubt of its correctness, I shall quote it from the first edition of Fox's Journal, printed in the year 1694, under the immediate supervision of William Penn and other prominent Friends.<sup>1</sup> The fact that George Fox's faith has been so strangely misunderstood by some and so grossly misrepresented by others must be my apology for giving the quotation in full. Says Fox, "Whereas many scandalous Lies and Slanders have been cast upon us to render us odious, as that we do deny God and Christ Jesus and the scriptures of Truth. This is to inform you that all our Books and Declarations which for these many years have been published to the world do clearly

<sup>1</sup> Journal, etc., of George Fox (*op. cit.*), p. 358.

testify the contrary. Yet notwithstanding for your satisfaction we do now plainly and sincerely declare That we do Own and Believe in God, the only Wise, Omnipotent and Everlasting God, who is Creator of all things both in Heaven and on Earth and the Preserver of all that He hath made; who is God over all blessed forevermore! And we do Own and Believe in Jesus Christ his beloved and only begotten Son, in whom he is well pleased; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary, in whom we have Redemption through his Blood, even the forgiveness of Sins. Who is the Express Image of the invisible God, the First-born of every Creature by whom were all things created that are in Heaven and that are in Earth visible and invisible whether they be Thrones or Dominions or Principalities or Powers, All things were created by Him. And we do Own and Believe that he was made a sacrifice for sin who knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth. And that he was crucified for us in the Flesh without the Gates of Jerusalem and that He was buried and Rose again the third day by the power of his Father for our justification. And we do Believe that he ascended up into Heaven and now sitteth at the right hand of God. This Jesus who was the Foundation of the Holy Prophets and Apostles is our Foundation and we do believe that there is no other Foundation to be laid, but that which is laid even Christ Jesus who we believe tasted Death for every Man and shed his Blood for all Men and who is the propitiation for our Sins and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world. According as John the Baptist testified of him when he said Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world: John 1: 29. We believe that He alone is our Redeemer and Saviour even the Captain of our Salvation. . . . And he is our Mediator that makes Peace and Reconciliation between God offended and us offending, he being the Oath of God, the New Covenant of Light, Life, Grace and Peace, the Author and Finisher of our Faith. Now this Lord Jesus Christ, the Heavenly man, the Emanuel, God with us we all own and believe in; him

whom the High Priest raged against and put to death; the same whom Judas betrayed for Thirty pieces of Silver, which the priest gave him as a reward for his Treason, who also gave large money to the Soldiers to broach a horrible lie,—namely, that his Disciples came and stole him away by Night whilst they slept. And after he was Risen from the dead the History of Acts of the Apostles sets forth how the chief Priests and Elders persecuted the Disciples of this Jesus for preaching Christ and his Resurrection. This, we say, is that Lord Jesus Christ whom we own to be our Life and Salvation.”

Accepting this, then, as the exposition of his faith on the important subject of which it treats, and we cannot do otherwise, it does not, of itself, place George Fox before the world as a reformer in the Christian Church.

For this we must turn to the second half of the proposition: “I saw that Christ died for all men and was a propitiation for all men *and had enlightened all men and women by his Divine and saving Light.*” To preach this Divine Light as in the heart of all was the especial service of George Fox. By this his position among the great reformers of the Christian Church becomes a positive and clearly-defined one.

We hear much nowadays in this connection the words “The Inner Light,” and so great an authority as the historian Bancroft has said, “the Quaker has but one word, the Inner Light;” but he wisely adds, “it is the voice of God in the soul.” Other men claiming to be historians, but with much less knowledge of history, have adopted his earlier words, forgetting his later ones, and have ventured to speak slightly, if not sneeringly, of the Inner Light.

For myself, I have never been quite content that these especial words, “The Inner Light,” should be accepted as the Shibboleth of the Quaker. I turn in vain over the many hundred pages of Fox’s Journal, of Penn’s select works, and look in vain through Barclay’s Apology to find these very words, “The Inner Light.” And so I do not hesitate to say that neither Fox, Penn, nor Barclay applied to the Divine Teacher the words “The Inner Light.” For

an inner light would be a light born from within, evolved out of man's own inner consciousness, taking its coloring from his social or educational environment,—a varying and an unsteady flame, and apt to prove an uncertain, if not an unsafe, guide.

George Fox did not preach such a light. But what he did preach everywhere, on all fitting occasions, as the Light, the Companion, the Guide, the Teacher, the Comforter of man, was the *Light of Christ* in the heart. He accepted in all its fulness for them, for himself, and for all Christians the words spoken by their Divine Master to his sorrowing disciples, "If I go away I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth, whom ye know; for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." On this promise the distinctive faith and preaching of George Fox were founded.

Said William Penn, "That which the people called Quakers lay down as a main fundamental in Religion is that God, through Christ, hath placed a Principle in every man to inform him of his duty; and to enable him to do it; and that those who live up to this Principle are the people of God; and that those who live in dishonour to it are not God's people whatever name they may bear or profession they may make of religion. This is their ancient, first and standing testimony, with this they began and this they bore and do bear to the world." (Penn's "Christian Quaker.") Elsewhere Penn calls this principle "The Light of Christ within man."

It was the conviction that this Divine Light was needed and yet was sufficient for every duty in life that led these early Friends to dispense with external forms of worship which were then and are now highly valued by so many Christians. But in dispensing with these they did not for a moment propose to dispense with the spiritual service, the spiritual communion, the spiritual baptism they are supposed to typify. Nay, because, it may be, of the very omission of these outward forms to which many of them had been accustomed, they pressed the more upon the people

the necessity of that change of heart without which these outward rites are acknowledged to be unavailing.

Thus, William Penn says of the early preachers among the Quakers, "They were changed men themselves before they went about to change others," and George Fox, in an epistle to the early believers, writes, "Let all your religious meetings be held in the power of God. Mind the Light—we are nothing—Christ is all."

Happily, nowadays we hear this doctrine of the immanence of the Holy Spirit preached elsewhere than among the descendants of the early Quakers. But the important fact to bear in mind is that in Fox's time, in Great Britain, though less so in Wales, the nature of spiritual religion seemed largely lost sight of. Lest I should be thought a prejudiced and therefore an unreliable authority on this subject, I prefer to quote the words of a distinguished author in the Church of England, Canon George Herbert Courteis, who, in his Bampton Lectures, delivered at Oxford in the year 1871, after speaking of "the majestic truth" (as he calls it) "preached by Fox," but claiming that it was what the Anglican Church had long believed, adds, "but it must be confessed it was not in Fox's time, nay, it is not *now* brought out in its full force and significance." A little later the same writer says of the religious Society of Friends, "It has been able to infuse the spirit and sense of George Fox's teaching into the very veins, as it were, of the modern world." And in concluding his lecture, Canon Courteis, though telling where, in his opinion, George Fox fell short in his conception of the whole gospel, adds, "I fear not to say that within the Church of England, no less than among the Dissenting communities, this doctrine of the Holy Ghost and of this indwelling light had been far too little heard, and especially was this the case in or before Fox's time, and, therefore, that no small debt of gratitude is due to one who first (even amid some error and extravagance) recovered for us the true prominence of the third great section of the Nicene Creed."

Another authority in the Anglican Church, Canon West-

cott, now Bishop of Durham, in a series of discourses delivered in Westminster Abbey, says of Fox and his companions, "The Quakers seem to me to express with greatest force the new thought of the Reformation, the thought of individuality;" and after many kind words respecting Fox's distinctive views, he says, "If Fox's message was met by fierce denunciations of technical theologians, it was welcomed as indeed a gospel by many who had not heard the like before. It opened once again the prospect of that universal kingdom to which Isaiah looked. It gave back to mankind the idea of a Divine Fatherhood commensurate with the Divine Love. We may think that many of the details on which Fox laid stress were trivial, but in spite of every infirmity of disposition, he was able to shape a character in those who followed him which, for independence, for truthfulness, for vigor, for courage, and for purity, is unsurpassed in the records of Christian endeavor."<sup>1</sup>

I have given these extracts because an American writer on Church history has recently said of these same early Friends that "after passing through a riotous and dangerous phase they became the negatively good folk their few surviving descendants still are. They had earned and compelled that curious, half-contemptuous, good-will which is still accorded them!" Such is not the estimate placed on these early Quakers by the Bampton lecturer and by the Lord Bishop of Durham.

This, then, was the faith held by George Fox, preached by John ap John; the faith in which our Welsh ancestors and the founder of this great Commonwealth lived, and in which and for which they were willing to die. Because they believed this Light to be the Light of Christ, the gift of His Holy Spirit, His promised Comforter, it became to them the supreme law of their being, as it was the supreme joy of their hearts. For this faith in the Divine Presence within them was no dim, misty dream, but a positive, I had almost said a tangible, reality. It influenced every thought and

<sup>1</sup> "Special Aspects of Christianity," by Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., etc. London, 1888, p. 119 *et seq.*

every act of their lives. And with this faith there came such a sense of Divine companionship as made for them hard things easy, bitter things sweet. What to them the solitude of the dungeon, if its darkness was illumined by this Divine Light? What to them the perils of the deep, if He who walked the sea of Galilee and calmed its waves was with them in the ship? And so it heightened every joy, it lightened every sorrow, gave them strength in weakness, life where death seemed else inevitable.

And soon they had need for all this help, for though at first Fox and his coadjutors were kindly received in Wales, yet when it was found how great was the number of his followers; how that not only the common people heard them gladly, but that men of position in the Church and of influence in the community became converts and zealous workers in their cause; how that the services of the Church were neglected, its tithes unpaid, a free gospel preached everywhere, and the doctrine openly taught that the priesthood was reserved for no privileged class, but that all true Christians might be, should be, priests unto God; how that the One Divine Mediator had forever rendered unnecessary any human mediator between God and man; how that worship to be availing must be in spirit; then it was that those in authority took alarm and brought to bear, seemingly with crushing force, all the authority of Church and State on these offenders. On the table before me is an original order bearing date May 20, 1675, addressed to the high and petty constables of Merioneth, ordering the arrest of twenty-eight men and women (whose names are there given) who had "met at a house called Llynny Branar under colour or pretense of religion not according to the litargie and practice of the Church of England, contrarie to the Act of Parliament, instituted to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles." Next to this on the table is an original record of the sufferings of Friends for non-payment of tithes, made at the time. Next to this is a writ committing to the common jail, at Dolgelly, Cadwalader ap Thomas ap Hugh, Robert Owen, Hugh Roberts, John David, and others. Other papers

of like character are preserved, brought to Pennsylvania by the family of John ap Thomas, who, though a Friend, was high constable at that time.

Forbidden to meet in public places, these Welsh Friends built houses on their own estates or continuous with their own homes. In the old town of Salzburg, in the very cleft of the rocks, are still shown the traveller the excavations in which early Christians were wont to meet to worship in secret when they dared not do so openly.

Often have I been reminded of these when viewing the little, cheerless, comfortless, cell-like rooms in which these Welsh Quakers were compelled to meet, and rarely has my heart been so deeply touched as it was last summer, when, driving a few miles beyond Dolgelly, my companion stopped before a dense piece of woods and said, "Here it was that Robert Owen, Rowland Ellis, and the Friends of Dolgelly were accustomed to hold their religious meetings when they dared not meet under any roof."

I do not propose to-night to go over the sickening details of this history. It is the old, old story of good men persecuted by men some of whom aimed to be good men also, but who had failed to learn the lesson or to profit by the rebuke given to his over-zealous disciples by their Divine Master: "other sheep I have, which are not of this fold"—"he that is not against us is for us."

Old friends and neighbors became alienated, and never is the bitterness of strife more intense than when a man's foes are they of his own household. For ten years, it is said, Charles Lloyd was a prisoner in the smoky jail of Welshpool, within a few miles of his home at Dolobran. For five years Robert Owen was a prisoner at Dolgelly, within two miles of his home at Dolserau, which he was not allowed to visit, and this, too, although he had himself been a justice of the peace, his wife's sister married to the rector of the parish church of Dolgelly, and his brother-in-law high sheriff of the county. Well may we say of religion, as of liberty, "what crimes have been committed in thy name!"

It was not until after the fiercest storm of persecution had somewhat subsided that the thought of a New World seems to have taken hold of the people of Wales.

Does it ever occur to us how slight at first and gradual in its development this thought of leaving the old home and its associations must have been? How the consent of one member of the family after another must be gained, what ties of natural affection had to be severed, what courage—almost superhuman—was required for such a radical change in their life? John Bevan, the ancestor of two of the most useful officers of our Historical Society, has left us the record of his motives in coming to the New World. John Bevan, as the memorial respecting him tells us, was well descended, and was left by his father a considerable estate; but the rest of the children, four in number, being unprovided for, he therefore, when he came of age (his sister being dead before), portioned all his brothers and gave them a helpful subsistence in the world. He thus writes of his emigration to America: “Some time before the year 1683 we had heard that our esteemed friend William Penn had a patent from King Charles the Second for that Province in America called Pennsylvania, and my wife had a great inclination to go thither and thought it might be a good place to train up children amongst sober people and to prevent the corruption of them here, by the loose behaviour of the youths and the bad example of too many of those of riper years; she acquainted me therewith, but I then thought it not likely to take effect for several reasons. But as I was sensible her aim was an upright one, on account of our children I was willing to weigh the matter in a true balance; and I can truly say my way was made easy and clear to go thither beyond my expectation, and it was the Lord’s great mercy to preserve us over the great deep to our desired port. And what hardships we met at the beginning of our settlement the Lord was our helper and support to go through.” I wish to avoid personalities, but I cannot help saying that to this upright aim of Barbara Bevan for her children our Historical Society owes one of its most valued vice-presidents

and the bench of Philadelphia one of her purest and wisest of judges.

What was thought by his friends and neighbors of this decision of John Bevan and his wife to come to Pennsylvania is thus stated in the minutes of the Meeting at Trevereg, Glamorganshire, South Wales, "10th of ye 7 mo. in ye year 1683."

"We whose names are under written doe hereby sertifie unto all whom it may concern the great loss we and others have sustained in the removal of our deare friends John ap Bevan and Barbarah his wife, both belonging to this Meeting, with their tender family to Pennsylvania.

"The precious truth was much in their eyes and this alone moved their hearts and wrought upon their sperits in order to their removal hence. And no earthly things whatsoever, having left behind them a very considerable estate surpassing many in their outward abode here with us, without any encumbrances in the least whatever thereupon.

"And further we do certifie that we accounted them as Pillers to this Meeting! [and] accounted as nursing father and nursing mother in this place to some weake and young amongst us severally. Blessings from above with peace and everlasting rest continually surround them within their dwelling forevermore."

Such was the "send-off" given two hundred and ten years ago to John and Barbara Bevan.

What was the invitation given by William Penn at this time and earlier to these Welsh Friends and others who were considering this important subject of a removal to the New World? What were the inducements he held out, what the advantages to be gained by such a removal? In the settlements of New Jersey, and especially of Pennsylvania, he had invested largely of his pecuniary means; his reputation as a successful leader was at stake; failure meant disgrace abroad and ruin at home. What inducements, I repeat, were held out by him, what temptations of ease, what hopes of sudden wealth which have proved such potent factors in the settlement of our distant lands? Hear what he says: "In whomsoever a desire is to be concerned in this intended plantation

*such should weigh the thing before the Lord and not rashly conclude on any such remove, and that they do not offer violence to the tender love of their kindred and relations, but soberly and conscientiously endeavour to obtain their good wills, the unity of Friends where they live, that whether they go or stay it may be of good favour before the Lord from whom alone can all heavenly and earthly blessings come. This am I, William Penn, moved of the Lord to write unto you, lest any bring a temptation upon themselves or others, and in offending the Lord slay their own peace. Blessed are they that can see and behold Him their leader their orderer, their conductor and preserver in staying or going. Whose is the earth and fulness thereof and the cattle upon a thousand hills!"*

Is there elsewhere in all history such a record? Men of Pennsylvania, can we ever too highly honor the name or too fondly cherish the memory of our Founder?

And to this Western world they came, in several instances preceding the Proprietor, in whose good ship, "The Welcome," there were, besides William Penn and his friend and physician, Dr. Thomas Wynne, comparatively few Welshmen. Here is the original subscription list of John ap Thomas, Edward Jones, Hugh Roberts, and others, in all seventeen families, showing what sum of money every Friend in Penllyn "hath layed out to buy land in Pennsylvania, and what quantities of acres of land each is to have, and w't sum of Quit Rent falls upon every one." In a late number of our PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, and in the number about to be issued, will be found the names of about fifty families purchasers of land in the Welsh Tract. Among these are the names of Thomas Wynne and our old friend John ap John, who are there recorded as having together purchased five thousand acres, doubtless for themselves and others.

But my researches last summer showed that, though perhaps at one time contemplating a removal, John ap John did not come to Pennsylvania. This is confirmed by the paper I now hold in my hand, which has recently come into my possession, and which is an exemplification of record of

release of William Penn, Esq., to John ap John *et al.* By this it appears that “on the 15th day of September in the year of our Lord 1681 William Penn granted to John ap John of the Parish of Ruabon in the County of Denbigh, Yeoman, and to Thomas Wynne of Caerwys, county of Flint, Chirurgeon, in consideration of the sum of one hundred pounds Sterling moneys, 5000 acres of land.” In this paper also “John ap John of his part 2500 acres there have been sold two thousand acres, reserving for himself 500 acres,” and by this copy of another paper I find the remaining five hundred disposed of. So that John ap John did not cross the sea as so many of his faith did, but died at the house of his son-in-law, John Miller, of Whitehugh, England, on the 16th day of the ninth month, 1697, as has been but recently learned by a careful examination of the papers at Devonshire House Meeting,<sup>1</sup> where in the return from Staffordshire of answers to the queries for 1698, “What Public Friends deceased this year?” it is answered, “none save our antient Friend John ap John,” whose death is recorded as above and his interment at Basford, a hamlet adjoining Whitehugh. In the year 1712, Friends in North Wales were desired by the Yearly Meeting to collect books and manuscripts relating to the services of “our ancient and faithful friend John ap John,” and to send them up to the second day’s Meeting. If this was done, no record of it can be found now. It may be that with characteristic humility he had left a request that no such records should be preserved. No stone marks his resting-place, and I know not, other than that of this evening, any public tribute has been paid to his memory. And yet had this messenger sent by Morgan Floyd to try the Quakers fallen away from his conviction, as did his companion, who can tell how different it might have been in Wales and in Pennsylvania? Who can say that any of us who are of Welsh ancestry would be here to-night?

How the voyage across the sea was conducted, we have their own account. Here is a letter written by Edward Jones, which I have once before brought before this Society,

<sup>1</sup> By Isaac Sharp, Jr., of Friends’ Institute, London.

dated "Skool Kill River ye 26th of 6th mo., 1682," in which he writes "we were eleven weeks before we made the land. It was not for want of art, but contrary winds." Think of it, we who would groan over a voyage of eleven days on the "New York" or the "Etruria." Here in this old Bible, their companion on the voyage, this record tells us how a widowed mother, Katharine Robert Thomas, who had left a most comfortable home at Llaithgwm, saw two loving daughters in the bloom of their womanhood, one after the other, laid away in the silent deep.

This letter tells how the voyagers on their ship were captured by privateers and carried to the West Indies; and what a history is that given us by Richard Townsend of his voyage on "The Welcome" in company with the Proprietor, whom I claim as of Welsh ancestry! Townsend writes of William Penn, "His singular care was manifested in contributing to the necessities of many who were sick with the small-pox then on board, of which company about thirty died." What a picture does even this slight sketch give us of the character of Penn! In the midst of this loathsome pestilence, with all the painful responsibilities resting upon him as the leader of the emigration, we see him going from bed to bed, animating the sick, comforting the dying, and by his singular care in every way relieving the necessities of his fellow-passengers. Amid all these depressing influences the faith of the founder of Pennsylvania never failed him. To him the words of the Psalmist were a reality: "The Lord is my refuge and my fortress: my God; in Him will I trust. Surely he shall deliver me from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence."<sup>1</sup>

In the old Massachusetts town of Plymouth, held sacred by the people of New England, are carefully preserved in their Memorial Hall everything belonging to the "Mayflower." The walls are covered with pictures representing the departure of the Pilgrims, their religious services, and their arrival at Plymouth.

<sup>1</sup> See article by the writer on "'The Welcome,'" *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, October 23, 1876.

It has not been our habit in Pennsylvania to paint pictures or to build monuments, but where could better material be found for these than in this sketch of the Founder given by Townsend, and in this record of the sailing of one of the ships given by Thomas Story :

“ Everything needful for our voyage and journey being ready, on the 10th day of the 9th month, in the evening, we went on board, near Deptford, in the river Thames, accompanied by several of our dear friends and brethren, viz., John Field, John Butcher, . . . and many others ; and soon after came to us William Penn, Joseph Wyeth, and some more.

“ And being together in the great cabin, the good presence of the Lord commanded deep and inward silence before Him, and the Comforter of the just brake in upon us by his irresistible power, and greatly tendered us together in his heavenly love, whereby we were melted into many tears. Glorious was this appearance, to the humbling of us all, and the admiration of some there who did not understand it. And in this condition we remained for a considerable season, and then William Penn was concerned in prayer ‘ for the good and preservation of all, and more especially for us then about to leave them ; with thanksgiving also for all the favors of God, and for that holy and precious enjoyment as an addition to his many former blessings.’ And when he had finished, the Lord repeated his own holy embraces of Divine, soul-melting love upon the silent, weeping assembly, to the full confirmation of us more immediately concerned, and further evidence to the brethren, of the truth of our calling.

“ In this love unfeigned, and tender condition of soul, we bade each other farewell to our mutual satisfaction, for the same powerful love of truth that made us loth to depart from our friends and brethren of our own native land, drawing us to remote parts of the world, and remaining in our hearts, gives courage and strength also to leave all and follow the Lord, even wheresoever He will.

“ We looked after them so long as we could see them, not

with minds to go backwards or hearts with any desire now to return, but in the comfort of Divine love, which neither distance of place nor number of years shall ever be able to obstruct or deface, as we keep true to the Lord in ourselves.”<sup>1</sup>

Of what happened to the Welsh emigrants after their arrival here I need say but little. The words of John Bevan briefly indicate some of the hardships they had to endure and other histories tell us more. Not the least among their trials was the apostasy of one of their religious Society, George Keith, who seems to have been animated with especial hatred of the Welsh Friends, as is particularly noted in the memorial respecting Governor Thomas Lloyd. Long before William Penn came to America, George Keith had been an honored member of the religious Society of Friends, and had travelled with Penn in his religious visits on the Continent. It was because he was not a stranger, but their own familiar friend, that made his defection so hard to bear, and which gave to the controversy that bitterness which is so apt to exist when one's foes are they of his own household.

Another trouble occurred later in the attempt to deprive these early settlers of the especial privileges promised them by William Penn before they left Wales, in what was known as the Welsh Tract, a sort of barony growing out of the desire of these early settlers, so characteristic of the Welsh, to be settled near each other, having their own laws, managing their own municipal affairs, speaking their own British language.

The warrant for the survey of this Welsh Tract may yet be found in the Surveyor-General's office at Harrisburg, and a copy of it in “The History of Delaware County,” by Dr. George Smith. The Welsh Tract included forty thousand acres lying chiefly in Merion, Radnor, Haverford, including a part of the whole of Goshen. In the absence of William Penn this distinct barony was broken in on by the running

<sup>1</sup> “Journal of the Life of Thomas Story.” Newcastle-upon-Tyne, A.D. 1747, p. 121.

of a division between Philadelphia and Chester Counties through the Welsh Tract, separating the Welsh settlements of Radnor and Haverford from those of Merion; this, and later an oppressive form of collecting quit-rents, caused great dissatisfaction among the Welsh; and notwithstanding "the pathetic appeal" of Griffith Owen, that "the descendants of the Ancient Britons might be allowed to have their bounds and limits by themselves, within which all causes, quarrels, crimes, and disputes might be tried and wholly determined by officers, magistrates and juries of our language," the Welsh Tract was thrown open for settlement to others besides these descendants of the ancient Britons, though the number who availed themselves of the opportunity was not large. (Smith's "History," p. 177.)

I have said that these early Welsh Friends were men of education or, to use a modern word much in vogue, were men of culture. That I may not be thought to have made this statement at random, I desire to call the attention of this audience to papers on the table before them, where original letters written by them may be seen, the orthography and penmanship of which are such as only can be found among men of education. The minutes of Merion Meeting in the first ten or more years of the settlement prove the same, and the memorial respecting Thomas Lloyd, prepared by Haverford Monthly Meeting, whether as a loving tribute to an honored fellow-member or as a work of literary merit, may challenge comparison with anything of the kind in our day.

It is an interesting fact which I have noted elsewhere, that for twenty-five years the only physicians of Philadelphia and its vicinity were Welshmen. It is also a fact of which as Welshmen we are proud, that the physician of George Washington, Dr. John Jones, was the great-grandson of Dr. Thomas Wynne, who was himself the physician of William Penn; so that the Founder of our State and "the Father of his country" owed their lives, humanly speaking, to the care and skill of Welsh physicians. Had this skill and care failed the one amid the pestilence on "The Welcome" or the other in the perils of the Revolution, who can

tell what the fate of our Commonwealth and our country had been ?

And now, as I see before me this evening among the members of this Historical Society the descendants of Thomas Lloyd, of John ap Thomas, of Cadwalader ap Thomas, of John David, of Henry Lewis, of John Roberts, of Hugh Roberts, of Thomas Wynne, of Edward Jones, of William ap Edward, of Rowland Ellis, of Robert Owen, of John Bevan, of Edward Foulke, of Robert Cadwalader, of Rees Thomas, of Ellis Pugh, and others, and know that not only are they useful members of the Historical Society, but are also useful members of the community in which they live; know, too, that the lines have fallen to them in pleasant places and that they have here a goodly heritage, I think that they owe—**SONS OF THE FOUNDERS**, I think that we all owe—a debt of gratitude to one Morgan Lloyd, a priest of Wrexham, who sent two of his men to the north of England to try the Quakers and bring back an account of them. **SONS OF THE FOUNDERS**, I think we owe a debt of gratitude to that messenger, John ap John, who abode in the truth and received a gift in the ministry, to which he remained faithful, and who in the exercise of that ministry wrought such results as have so closely bound his life to our lives. **SONS OF THE FOUNDERS**, I think we owe a debt of gratitude to those brave men and gentle women who gave up their own homes, braved the perils of the deep, endured the hardships of a new and untried world, not for themselves, but for those who were to come after them,—for you and for me.

And so to-night, with feeble hand it may be, but with a heart full of filial love and gratitude, I have endeavored to lift the veil of two centuries which separates us from them, and in this simply colloquial way to tell you of their names, their homes, and their daily life.

I need not tell you, members of the Historical Society, that truth and justice were both the foundation and the bulwark of the homes they builded here; that the virtues of the people were their palaces and towers. Centuries ago he who was both the bard and the king of Israel commanded

his people to walk about their Zion, and go around about her, to tell the towers thereof; to mark well her bulwarks, to consider her palaces, that they might tell it to the generation following. Happy will it be for us if, having done this aright, we may take up what remains of the Psalmist's words, and in all humility but in all sincerity can say, "For this God of our fathers is our God for ever and ever : he will be our guide even unto death."